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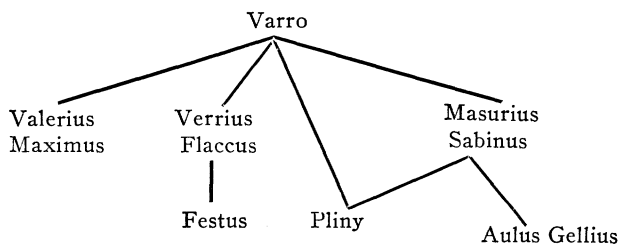
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II.—THE ANNALS OF VARRO.

In 1848 Ritschl published in the *Rhein. Mus. Bd. VI* (=Op. 3, 419) Hieronymus' catalogue of the writings of Varro. In this list the ninth title is "tres libros annalium". Before this the existence of an annalistic work from the hand of Varro rested on a single citation in Charisius, the authority of which was quite generally doubted. In his discussion of the different works Ritschl (p. 445) came to the conclusion that the Annals was a chronological work of the same character as the *Chronica* of Nepos or the *liber annalis* of Atticus. He also compared the chronological survey in Aulus Gellius 17, 21, where Varro is cited together with Nepos and assigned this fragment of Varro to the Annals. Undoubtedly this comparison and the shortness of the work (three books) were Ritschl's reasons for assigning a chronological character to it. He further defined it as an extension or completion of the third section of the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*, in which the subject of chronology was considered under the heading "quando agant".

Since Ritschl's time but little advance has been made in investigations on this work. L. Mercklin (*de Varrone coronarum Romanarum militarium interprete praecipuo quaestiones*, Dorpat, 1859) tried to derive the various statements about military crowns in Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Festus, Gellius, etc. from the Annals, but gave no sufficient reason for assigning them to this work in preference to others of Varro, while for Pliny and Gellius he held that the relationship was indirect. His outline for the same was as follows:



This explanation found no acceptance, nor did that of Gruppe (Comment. Mommsen.), who denied the existence of the Annals as of the *res urbanae*, another little-known work of Varro. Teufel-Warr I, 258 cites Gruppe for the view that these works were a garbled selection from the *Antiquitates rer. hum.*, while in fact Gruppe thus describes the two citations of the same in Charisius. He therefore meant that these were incorrect citations for portions of the *res humanae*.

Another to touch on this work was Urlichs (*die Anfänge der griech. Künstler-geschichte*, Würzburg, 1871, p. 38). He continued in the path of Ritschl, insisting on the chronological character of the Annals, which he considered similar to the *Chronica* of Eusebius (Hieronymus) and so referred Pliny's brief descriptions and dates of many sculptors and painters to this source. This is pure conjecture, nor does it pretend to be anything more. Just as groundless is Urlichs' statement (*die Quellenregister zu Plinius' letzten Büchern*, Würzburg, 1878, p. 17) that the Annals were written after 44 B. C. His sole evidence is Cicero's failure to mention this work in the letters to Atticus (12, 23; 16, 13) when referring to Atticus' *liber annalis* or asking for chronological information. We might well ask why the *Chronica* of Nepos should not also be mentioned in these passages; it was certainly better known than the Annals of Varro and was written before 54 B. C. Neither does the form of expression in the two letters of Cicero suggest that the works of Varro or any one else ought to be mentioned. But not only are Urlichs' reasons for dating the Annals after 44 absolutely without weight but there are strong grounds for placing its composition somewhat earlier than that date. Whatever the exact contents of the Annals were, they must have dealt with the early history and institutions of Rome as did also the *res urbanae*, the books *de gente populi Romani* and those *de vita pop. Rom.* Now the chief work belonging to this line of Varro's studies was without question the *antiquitates rer. hum.*, to which the lesser works must have borne some relation in time of composition, whether we consider them as popular reproductions or as excerpts enriched by other material brought to light in his investigations into the early history of Rome. But the *res humanae* were written before the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, for the *res divinae* (the second part of the work) was dedicated to Caesar about 47 B. C. Furthermore the *libri IV de gente pop. Rom.* is shown by a fragment to have been written in 43 B. C. As this

was probably the most elaborate of the lesser historical works of Varro and required investigation into the period preceding the founding of the city, it is likely to have been one of the latest published. So we shall not be far wrong, if we consider that the *Annals* were published either before or at latest about this time. I am however inclined to take the former view and to interpret Cicero, *Acad. post.* 1, 3, 9 (published in July, 45) as referring to this work. The words in question are the following: "Tu aetatem patriae, tu discriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarum nomina genera officia caussas aperuisti". The 'sacrorum iura' and 'sacerdotum' plainly refer to Varro's work *res divinae* and the 'domesticam, bellicam disciplinam' to the *res humanae*,¹ while all his works dealing with ancient Rome are included in the reference of the last clause. The 'aetatem patriae' and 'discriptiones temporum'² were also in a general manner handled in the *res humanae*, but Cicero would hardly have separated them from the plain reference to the same contained in the words 'domesticam bellicam disciplinam', unless he were thinking of a separate work. The only other works which could have handled both these subjects are the *Annals* and the *libri de gente pop. Rom.* (published in 43 B. C.); so the *Annals* is the one referred to here. The last of the special subjects treated by Varro, which Cicero names in this sentence is 'sedem regionum, locorum'. If we take this in the more general sense of the geography of the empire, it must be referred to the *res humanae*, but in the special sense of the districts and places of the city it corresponds exactly with the supposed contents of the *res urbanae*. Thus in Cicero's whole sentence we should have 4 works referred to, with two descriptive phrases allotted to each. This seems to me much more natural than to think that no published works were referred to, or that only the two chief works were meant, in which case the first two and the last four expressions would have to be referred to the *res humanae*, while the second two would belong to the *res divinae*.

I have discussed this question of the date at some length, as the

¹ Cf. Aul. Gell. 1, 25, Varro in libro humanarum, qui est de bello et pace.

² I take this with Reid in the sense of chronological arrangements. If a more general meaning were given, which however the position next to aetatem seems to exclude, it would have to refer to the *res humanae*.

relation of the Annals to the other works of Varro can be intelligible only after the chronological succession of these works has been established. Now we may consider as certain that the Annals, belonging as they do to the historical works, were not written before Varro began his studies for the antiquitates, i. e. about 55 B. C. Neither are they likely to have been later than 43 B. C., the latest date to which we can refer any fragment from the historical works. They must therefore have preceded both the books *de lingua Latina* and the *Imagines*. If we accept that the passage in Cicero's *Academica* has the reference proposed, then we must suppose that the Annals were written at about the same time as the *res divinae*, which can be assigned to the years 47 and 46 B. C.

Turning our attention now to the contents and scope of the Annals, we consider first the two accepted fragments; Charisius 1, 105 (K.), *Scriptulum, quod nunc vulgus sine t dicit, Varro in Plutotoryne dixit, idem in annali*¹ (= *annal. I*) *nummum argenteum flatum primum a Servio Tullio dicunt. Is IIII scripulis maior fuit quam nunc est. Gellius 17, 21, 23, neque multo postea Eudoxus astrologus in terra Graecia nobilitatus est Lacedaemonique ab Athenienses apud Corinthum superati duce Phormione et M. Manlius Romae, qui Gallos in obsidione Capitolii obrepentes per ardua depulerat, convictus est, consilium de regno occupando inisse, dampnatusque capitis e saxo Tarpeio, ut M. Varro ait, praeceps datus, ut Cornelius autem Nepos scriptum reliquit, verberando necatus est; eo ipso anno, qui erat post reciperatam urbem septimus (= 384 B. C. Varronian) Aristotelem philosophum natum esse . . .* We have in these two fragments a notable occurrence and a notable man mentioned. In both cases the dating is by reference to some more prominent event, the one in the reign of Servius Tullius, the other after the capture of Rome. In the second fragment only the first statement about Manlius can be certainly ascribed to Varro, yet it is likely that he also as well as Nepos compared the chief events of Greek history, especially in so far as it came in touch with Rome. The exact year of the event, which Gellius has expressed as *annus*

¹*Annal. I* is the proper emendation; *ann.*, *anna.*, and *annal.* are common abbreviations for the various cases of *annalis*, and these were often misunderstood; cf. Nonius 480 *Quadrigarius annali* (= *annal. I*); Nonius 29 *Caelius annavi* (*anavi*) = *annal. I* (*anna. VI*); Nonius 508 *annal. li. I* (in one MS). In *annali* cannot be used as a general designation for a work in three books.

septimus post reciperatam urbem,¹ was probably further designated by the names of the consuls. Also the tendency of Gellius to date events by reference to better known ones, and the consequent scarcity of exact dates in this chapter may be considered as evidence that neither Varro nor Nepos offered a complete schedule of the years of the republic with the events of each year. As frg. 1 came in the first book of the Annals Varro did not devote much space to the period before the founding, and as the purely chronological matter would not require much space, there would be abundant room, even in three books, to handle much other matter. In this was included not only notable events but also famous men, as the example of Manlius shows us. Note how, in brief space, the great deeds, crime, condemnation and execution of the man are given. We have a right to infer that Varro handled in like manner all the famous men of Rome. In this respect the work would have many points of similarity with the Imagines, which Varro published in 39 B. C. The Romans treated of must have been nearly the same in the two works, but the mention in the Annals was much briefer.

With this general view of the Annals, we pass now to the search for hidden fragments of the same, considering first the enumeration of the deeds of L. Sicinius Dentatus. I give first three versions in parallel columns, with similar expressions in italics.

AULUS GELLIUS 2, 11.

¹ *L. Sicinium Dentatum*,
² qui tribunus plebi fuit,
Sp. Tarpeio, A. Aternio
consulibus, scriptum est in
libris annalibus, ³ *plus quam*
credi debeat, strenuum bel-
latorem fuisse nomenque ei
factum ob ingentem for-
titudinem appellatumque
esse ⁴ *Achillem Romanum*.
Is *pugnasse in hostem dicitur*
⁵ *CXX proeliis*, ⁶ *cicatricem*

VALERIUS MAXIMUS 3, 2, 24.²

Sed quod ad proeliorum
excellentem fortitudinem
adinet, merito, ¹ *L. Sicinii*
(Sicci) *Dentati* commemo-
ratio omnia Romana ex-
empla finierit, cuius opera
honoresque operum ³ *ultra*
fidem veri excedere iudicari
possent, nisi ea certi auctores,
inter quos M. Varro, monu-
mentis suis testata esse
voluissent, quem ⁵ *centies et*

FESTUS, p. 190 (M.).

Obsidionalis
corona . . . nam
et P. Decio datae
duae . . . et ¹ L.
Sergio (Secinio)
Dentato, ⁴ qui
Achilles Romae
existimatus est,
ac fertur ⁵ centies
et vicies pro rep.
depugnasse.

⁷ coronis donatus

¹ This is used to date the following event, but *eo ipso anno* means the same year. For this use of *ipse* cf. Meader, the Latin Pronouns, p. 165 ff.

² For other views on this Varro citation, see literature in Schanz, Gesch. Röm. Lit. II, 2, p. 200.

AULUS GELLIUS 2, 11.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS 3, 2, 24.

FESTUS, p. 199 (M.).

*aversam nullam, adversas XLV tulisse,*¹ *coronis donatus esse* ^a*aureis VIII,* ^b*obsidionali I,* ^c*muralibus III,* ^d*civiciis XIII,* ⁸*torquibus LXXXIII,* ⁹*armillis plus CLX,* ¹⁰*hastis XVIII.* ¹¹*Phaleris item donatus est quinquies vicesque.* ¹²*Spolia militaria habuit multiuga,* ¹³*in his provocatoria pleraque.* ¹⁴*Triumphavit cum imperatoribus suis triumphos IX.*

vicies in aciem descendisse tradunt, eo robore animi atque corporis utentem, ut maiorem semper victoriae partem traxisse videretur; ¹²*XXXVI spolia ex hoste retulisse, quorum in numero,* ¹³*VIII fuisse eorum, cum quibus inspectante utroque exercitu ex provocatione dimicasset,* ¹⁴*XIII civis ex media morte raptos servasse,* ⁶*V et XL vulnera pectore excepisse, tergo cicatricibus vacuo:* ¹⁴*IX triumphales imperatorum currus secutum, totius civitatis oculos in se numerosa donorum pompa convertentem; praeferebantur enim* ^{7a}*aureae coronae VIII,* ^d*civicae XIII,* ^c*murales III,* ^b*obsidionalis I,* ⁸*torques LXXXIII,** ⁹*armillae CLX,* ¹⁰*hastae XVIII,* ¹¹*phalerae XXV, ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi satis multa.*

XXVI, in his ^a*aureis VIII,* ^d*civiciis XIII,* ^c*muralibus III,* ^b*obsidionali I.*

Not only is there exact agreement in all the items mentioned, but the order in which they are given corresponds in a no less wonderful degree, if we allow for a single intentional change of order in each of the two, Valerius and Gellius. I have numbered the different statements from 1 to 14 as they stand in Gellius, and repeat the numbers alone here to show more clearly the agreement in order.

GELLIUS.	VALERIUS.	FESTUS.
1	1	1
2	—	—
3	3	—
4	—	4

* MSS give *CLXXXIII*, but emendation is certain.

GELLIUS.	VALERIUS.	FESTUS.
5	5	5
[12	—
6	13 (+ 7d a repetition)	—
7	6	—
8	[14	—
9	7	7
10	8	—
11	9	—
12	10	—
13	11	—
14	[

We see that Valerius transferred the mention of No. 14 (the 9 triumphs) from its natural position at the end to an earlier place, so that he might introduce the spectacle of his hero having all his decorations and presents carried before him in triumph before the admiring gaze of the citizens. If we disregard the mention of the "XIIII cives ex media morte raptos servasse", which is only a repetition and explanation of the 'coronae civicae XIIII', we have the order given by the common source.

Nos. 12 (spolia militaria) and 13 (provocatoria) were omitted by Gellius in their proper place and then inserted from memory just before the end. The omission of the number of spoils won in these two cases shows plainly that Gellius unintentionally omitted them in his excerpt, and recalling them to mind when he wrote out the chapter, preferred to insert them in this general manner at the end rather than to look up his reference again. In order to make more clear the agreement in order between Gellius and Valerius, I have classed the four kinds of crowns under a single head. Considering them separately, we find another change of order on the part of Gellius, while Festus agrees exactly with Valerius. The order in these two is aureae coronae VIII, civicae XIIII, *murales* III, obsidionalis I, i. e., in ascending scale according to importance. The civic crown is generally ranked second in importance (cf. Pliny 16, 3), but as bravery and strength are emphasized here, the mural (prize for ascending walls of besieged city first) is placed higher this time.

Gellius in his enumeration preserved the golden crowns in first place as he found them, but changed the order of the others so as to make an ascending scale in the number of the separate kind of crowns.

We thus see that even the slightest variations in the order can be naturally explained from the manner of writing of the two authors. In Festus there are no changes in order, but merely omission of items which were irrelevant. In comparison with the otherwise perfect agreement of the authors these slight changes sink into insignificance, and we are forced to conclude that all three used the same work as a source. But Valerius cites Varro as his authority and Gellius found his passage "in libris annalibus". The natural combination of these two is "Varro in libris annalibus", and as we have seen above (frg. 2 of the Annals), this work was used by Gellius.

But it may be suggested that in Gellius we have only an exact copy of the annalist whom Varro used. Against this view can be urged not only the almost complete agreement of the two versions, which renders a more distant relationship most improbable, but also the presence in Gellius of the introductory statement that Dentatus was tribune in the consulship of Tarpeius and Aternius. This form of dating the man corresponds with the chronological character of the Annals of Varro. The omission of the date in Valerius is in accord with his general system; for him the example and not the time is the important matter. Why he also omitted the statement that Dentatus was the Roman Achilles is not so clear, as such an omission is an exhibition of common sense, which we would hardly expect from him. The presence however of the statement both in Gellius and in Festus, though the latter otherwise agrees more closely with Valerius, makes it certain that it stood in Varro. But there is still another notable agreement between Valerius and Gellius which has not been noted, for Valerius says that the deeds and honors of Dentatus *could be considered beyond belief*, if there were not reliable authorities for the same among whom was Varro. This is plainly borrowed from Varro himself, with the name of Varro added because he had failed to name his *reliable authorities*. The proof of this is the fact that we find an echo of the same in Gellius' statement that Dentatus was a more vigorous warrior than *ought to be believed*.

Another author to make use of Varro's Annals for this passage was Dionysius Halicarnasensis 10, 37:

Λούκιος Σίκκιος . . . μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι μεμάχημαι· τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα εἴληφα, καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ νῶτον δ' οὐθέν. καὶ τούτων δώδεκά ἐστιν, ἃ συνέβη μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβίνος Ἐρδώνιος τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατελάβετο. ἀρίσטיα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐξεγήνεγμαι τεσσαρασκαίδεκα μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδρσάν με οἱ σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολιορκητικούς, πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς πολεμίων τείχεσι καὶ κατασχών, ὁκτὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθην· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τοῖς, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοὺς στρεπτοὺς περιανχεῖνους, [ἑκατὸν] δὲ ἐξήκοντα περιβραχιόνια χρύσεια, δόρατα δ' ὀκτωκαῖδεκα, φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσιν, ὧν ἐννέα ἦσαν, οὓς μονομαχῆσαι τινα ἡμῶν προκαλεσασμένους ἐκούσιος ὑποστὰς ἐνίκησα.

Dionysius has inserted the enumeration in a speech and in so doing omitted two points, the spoils and the triumphs. The others are in the same order as his source except the statement about the single combats, which is placed at the end. The order, in which the different kinds of crowns are given, is confused and the obsidionalis omitted. The presence of a second source is shown by the mention of the duration of his campaigns, the 12 wounds in one day, etc. The error that 60 bracelets are mentioned instead of 160 is not due to the second source, but the text must be corrected as later editors have seen.

Thus far our task has been comparatively simple, but we have still to consider the passage in Pliny 7, 101: L. Siccus Dentatus, qui tribunus plebei fuit Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos. haud multo post exactos reges, vel numerosissima suffragia habet centiens viciens proeliatu, octiens ex provocatione victor, XLV cicatricibus adverso corpore insignis, nulla in tergo. idem spolia cepit XXXIII,¹ donatus hastis puris XVIII, phaleris XXV, torquibus LXXXIII, armillis CLX, coronis XXVI, in is civicis XIII, aureis VIII, muralibus III, obsidionali I, fisco aeris, X captivis et XX simul bubus, imperatores novem ipsius maxime opera triumphantes secutus praeterea (quod optimum in operibus reor) uno ex ducibus T. Romilio ex consulatu ad populum convicto male imperatae rei militaris. Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. I, 110 n. 88) and Kempf (Val. Max.) hold that the passage of Pliny was taken from Valerius Maximus; but after our present investigations only a glance is necessary to teach us that this is impossible, for Pliny agrees better with Aulus Gellius, though giving many points not found in either. Thus he inserts the

¹Valerius Maximus gives XXXVI, but should be emended, as Solinus supports Pliny.

additions that Dentatus was presented with "fisco aeris, decem captivis et viginti simul bubus". Also the hastae are properly described as *purae*, though that designation is not found in Valerius, Gellius or Dionysius; then too the episode about T. Romilius is added at the end and the order of the items is entirely different. Using the same numbers for the different statements which we used in Gellius and Valerius, and adding the numbers 15 to 18 for the four additional items, we have the following order: 1, 2, 5, 13, 6, 12, 10, 11, 8, 9, 7, 15, 16, 17, 14, 18. Considering No. 7 (the crowns) separately, as we did before, we find a different arrangement here also, as they have been placed in a numerical order with the largest number (the 14 civic crowns) first and the one obsidionalis last. In spite of these differences the relationship, especially with the version in Gellius, is very noticeable. Compare particularly the statement that Dentatus was "tribunus plebei . . . Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos.", though this is not found in Valerius. It is plain, then, that the source of Pliny is closely related to the common source of Gellius, Valerius, Dionysius and Festus, but that it gave the description of the hero in a more extended form. What this source was we can learn from Pliny himself, for the crowns of Dentatus are mentioned by him in two other passages, B. 16, 14 and 22, 9. The name is given each time in the same form, and in book 22 the 120 battles are also mentioned as well as the crowns. There can be no doubt that all three passages were drawn from the same source. If we turn to Pliny, n. h. 1, where he has enumerated the sources of all his books, we find, to be sure, that Valerius Maximus is mentioned among the sources of book 7, but he is not found either for book 16 or 22. So we have another proof that he could not have been the source of Pliny for this statement. The only authors cited by Pliny for all three books are Varro, Masurius Sabinus and Cato, one of whom must have been the source for the Dentatus story. But we can, I think, decide between the three; according to Brunn's¹ law Pliny enumerated his sources (in the index of them in book 1) in the order in which they were first cited or used without mention of name, though some deviations were brought about by changes made during the progress of the work, or by later additions, or in some cases by the grouping of the sources for books handling

¹ H. Brunn, *De auctorum indicibus Plinianis*, Bonn, 1856.

the same subjects. Book 7 is a particularly puzzling example of such deviations¹ and as a whole has not been explained with entire satisfaction. Perhaps the following explanation will remove some of the difficulties. The first five authors in the index (Verrius Flaccus, Cn. Gellius, Mucianus, Masurius and Agrippina) seem to be enumerated in inverse order according to the last citation of each beginning at the end of the book (the last citations are in sections 180, 198, 159, 135 and 46 respectively). This arrangement can be explained on the basis that Pliny had not included these authors in his first outline of the book, and so they were lacking in his first index of the sources; when the book was completed, he listed the authors of the extra excerpts he had included, naturally taking the last one first. Pliny usually appended at the end of his list the authors from whom excerpts had been added later, but there was no rule compelling him to do so, and chance or the importance of the authors may have caused a different procedure this time. That some explanation of the variation in order is necessary is shown by the index of the Greek authors for the same book; for in a list of 49 authors there is among those actually cited but one variation from the order in which they were used in the book. Turning now to the remaining Roman authors of book 7, we find them given in the following order, to which I add the section number of the first citation of each, if cited: Cicero (18), Asinius Pollio, Varro (13), Messala Rufus, Nepos, Vergil, Livius, Cordus, Melissus, Sebosus, Cornelius Celsus, Valerius Maximus (33), Trogus (33), Nigidius Figulus (66), Atticus, Asconius (159), Fabianus, Cato, Acta (60), Fabius Vestalis (213). By far too large a proportion are not cited for us to draw certain conclusions. It would seem that Cicero was used in some passage earlier than § 18, and so was naturally placed before Varro. The citation of the Acta may have been an addition by Pliny after the original publication of the work in 77 A. D., or when writing he may have inserted it at a point earlier than he had planned. However we explain these discrepancies, the arrangement as a whole points to Varro as the author of the passage in question (i. e. § 101); for Cato is named in the list after Asconius, who is cited first in § 159. As Masurius is in the number of those whom I consider as later additions, he can hardly have been the

¹ Cf. Ulrichs, *Jahrb. Phil. and Paedag.* 75, 337.

source of a passage so long and necessary to the context as the one under discussion. To this is added the fact that Varro is cited for six other passages in book 7 (§§ 75, 83, 176, 211, 214), thus showing that he was used often and throughout the whole book.

The evidence of book 16 is still more conclusive. The Roman authors in the order of the index with the section number of the first citation of each in the book are: Varro (115), Fetalis, Nigidius Figulus (25), Nepos (36), Hyginus (231), Masurius (75), Cato (193), Mucianus (213), Piso (192), Trogius, Calpurnius Bassus, Cremutius (108), Sextius Niger (51), Cornelius Bocchus (216), Vitruvius, Graecinus (241). The early position of Varro and Hyginus in the list shows that they were used earlier than the places where first cited. The use of Varro must have begun in the first chapters, as Nigidius Figulus who comes third in the list is cited in § 25. As the crowns of Dentatus are mentioned in § 14, it coincides exactly with our expectations. Masurius and Cato both come so much later in the list that they cannot be considered as possible sources for our passage. In the latter part of the list there is a manifest confusion (cf. Detlefsen, *Philol.* 31, 389), but it has no connection with the matter under discussion here. Book 22 furnishes no evidence on the order of sources, as they are given as identical with book 21.

We see therefore that Pliny, in spite of his variations in the Dentatus legend, must have used Varro as his source. If the work he used was the *Annals*, then he added to it from other sources and varied the order arbitrarily. Such procedure was not called for by the character of his work nor suggested by the excerpt method, which he made use of, still it must be admitted as a possibility, though a comparison of Pliny with his extant sources has shown that he was more apt to shorten and condense than to expand, when making his excerpts (cf. Heigl, *die Quellen des Plinius im 11. Buch*, Marburg, 1885; Stadler, *die Quellen des Plinius im 19. Buch*, Munich, 1891; Detlefsen, *Philol.* 31, 385; Sprengel, *Rhein. Mus.* 46, 54). But we are not forced to accept any such improbable explanation, for there is another work of Varro, the *Imagines*, which would have included the story of Dentatus. In this work were combined portraits and brief lives of Greek and Roman celebrities (kings, generals, statesmen, poets, prosewriters, professional men and those famous in other lines). The work was published after the

Annals, so that the dates of the different men as well as many of the more important statements about them would have been only a repetition of the facts given there. On the other hand the greater size of the work (7 books devoted to Romans) as well as the purely biographical character, shows that the individual men must have been treated at much greater length. The corrections also, which appear in the version of Pliny, indicate that we have a later emended edition of the life. Whether Pliny in making his excerpt himself condensed the story out of the *Imagines* or made use of Varro's 4-book epitome of the same, we can not, of course, decide.

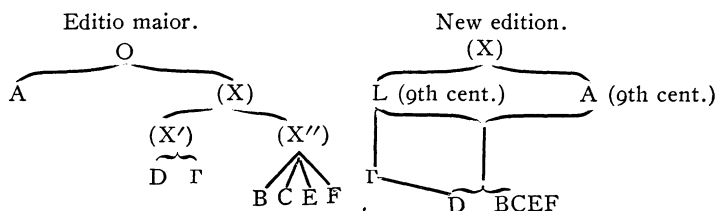
The question will perhaps be raised, whether Dentatus, who is styled *tribunus plebei*, would have been included by Varro among his distinguished men, but I have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative; for in addition to the fact that he belonged to the prehistoric time, from which it was more difficult to get examples about whom much was known, he had actually served as a general, otherwise he could not have obtained the *corona obsidionalis*, which was presented by a besieged army to the general who broke up the siege (cf. Festus, p. 190 M.).

This legend seems to have been mentioned in a third work of Varro. Compare Fulgentius (in Nonius ed. Gerlach & Roth, p. 560): *et apud Romanos Varro scripsit Sitium Dentatum centies et vicies pugnasse singulari certamine; cicatrices habere e contra quadraginta quinque, post tergum nullam; coronasse accepisse XXVI, armillas CLX, et istum primum sacrum fecisse Marti.* This is cited to the word '*nefrendes*' merely for the sake of the mention of the sacrifice at the end, an item which occurs in none of the other versions; it is likely that the original source of the passage was Varro's *res divinae*.

There still remains for consideration the full name of our hero, whom I have heretofore called Dentatus to avoid confusion. In Gellius he is L. Sicinius Dentatus, but Pliny makes the middle name Siccus, while some manuscripts of Valerius Maximus give one and others the other. Dionysius and Livy both give Siccus, which must be accepted as correct, for the other writers having Sicinius are both late. Cf. Solinus I, 102 and 106; Ammianus Marcellinus 25, 3, 13; 27, 10, 16. Festus has '*Sergio*' according to both Müller and Thewrewk de Ponor (repeating the text of Ursinus), though Mommsen (*Röm. Forsch.* I, 110) states that the earlier editions as well as the Vatican copy (No. 1549) of the lost

portion of the MS Farnesianus have 'Secinio'. If this were a correction by an Italian scholar I should expect to find the name properly spelled. As the early editions represent the copy of the lost manuscript by Angelus Politianus, we have the authority of two copies against the undoubtedly more careful copy of Ursinus. It seems the latter must have made the mistake this time, for the form Sicinius is here required, as the passage is derived through the medium of Verrius Flaccus from the source of Gellius, where all the manuscripts give the name Sicinius.

In Valerius Maximus all editors before Kempf printed Sicinius after the majority of the manuscripts. Kempf changed to Siccus partly on the evidence of Pliny, whom he wrongly considered as copied from Valerius. We should rather reinforce the authority of the manuscripts by comparison with Gellius and Festus, which are from the same source. But these two throw their evidence for Sicinius, which we must accept in Valerius even though the manuscript evidence seems somewhat stronger for the other form. The stemma of the MSS of Valerius according to Kempf is as follows:



A, the best manuscript, has 'Sentii' in an erasure; this is a correction taken from the Epitome of Paris, which has 'Sentii' in all manuscripts. *L*, *D*, and *C* have 'Sicci' while *r* has 'Sicii'. *B* has 'Sicinii' and *E* 'Sicinei'; *F* is wanting in this portion. As *C* is late and much interpolated, while *B* is a good manuscript of the 13th century, the class *B, C, E, F* must rest on the authority of *B, E*. Is *Sicinii* in this class an attempted correction or was that the original reading of *A* or whatever manuscript may have been the source of this class? I have decided for *Sicinius* as the original reading and restore it to the text for 3 reasons: 1st, the source used by Valerius requires it; 2d, the form *Siccus* was well known from Livy and Pliny, and would therefore be more likely to be interpolated than *Sicinius* which would have to come from a knowledge

of Gellius or Solinus; 3d, the occurrences of Siccius in the MSS of Valerius can be traced to the manuscript L, the writer of which showed a tendency to correct proper names. This is especially shown by the filling out of initials (cf. Kempf ed. min. p. XXIII). Though restoring Sicinius to the text here I must repeat it is originally a mistake for Siccius, caused by confusion with the better known family. The mistake must have been made by Varro in the *Annals*, as its appearance in all the descendants shows. In the *Imagines* he corrected to the proper form as we see from Pliny and he wrote Siccius also in the *res divinae* if we refer the 'Sitius' of Fulgentius to that source.

We have still to consider how the form Sicinius came to appear in Solinus in a passage taken verbatim¹ from Pliny. As this form appears also in Ammianus Marcellinus in two passages copied from Solinus, there can be no doubt that the text is correct. What then induced Solinus to make the change? Here again we can trace the mistake to Varro's *Annals*, though the Varronian fragments in Solinus are all indirectly derived. Mommsen (*Praef. ad Solin.*) has shown that the Pliny excerpts in Solinus were not taken directly but had been combined with other material especially chronological and geographical by some predecessor. The chronological work used was that by Cornelius Bocchus of the time of Claudius (cf. Mommsen, p. 14).² But this was in turn mostly a compilation of his predecessors, if we may judge by the number of other historians cited by Solinus, the mention of whom must have come through Bocchus. According to Mommsen there are 22 of these, including both Greek and Latin; he also states that none of these lived later than Nepos, a statement which is true but misleading, for Unger (*Rhein. Mus.* 35, 19) was induced by some such thought to assert that Nepos in turn was the chief source of Bocchus. But we know that Nepos wrote his *Chronica* sometime before 54 B. C. Furthermore Varro is also cited for a subject which would naturally be referred to the *Annals*, viz., the founding

¹ Therefore in Solinus I, 103 'in phaleris hastis puris armillis coronis CCCXII dona meruit' must be emended by inserting 'torquibus' before or after 'phaleris'. (I am in doubt whether this is a mistake of the manuscripts or of Mommsen's edition.)

² Schanz, *Röm. Litt.* III, 203 suggests Suetonius as the direct source of Solinus and the combiner of the chronological material from Bocchus with excerpts from Pliny, Mela and others. Some such intermediary is necessary, but we can not be sure that it is Suetonius or that it all came through one.

of Rome, and we have seen above that this work was published after 55 B. C. at the earliest. There are also citations from Cicero (from Brutus pub. 46 B. C.) and from Atticus' *liber annalis* (after 51 B. C.) Likewise L. Tarruntius the astrologer, who dedicated his horoscope of Rome to Varro, is cited. It is plain from all this, either that Nepos was not the chief source of Bocchus or that much of the historical information in Solinus did not come through Bocchus. Of the latter Varro was surely a direct source and probably some others were used, though there was undoubtedly much repeating of citations from the different sources. The fact that Varro was one of the sources can not be called in question, but it is not so certain that the particular work was the *Annals*. We know from Arnobius 5, 8 that Varro gave his date for the founding of the city and his discussion of the same in the *libri de gente pop. Rom.* and so all fragments relating to this subject have generally been assigned to that work. Still the *Annals* as a chronological work must have assigned a date to this event, though no such thorough discussion of the question as in the larger work could have appeared there. The date (753 B. C.) would have been the same as it had already appeared in the work of Atticus.¹ Also the fact that Varro is not cited by Solinus for the *date* of the founding of Rome, though 8 of his predecessors are, points to him as the intermediate source of all the citations. Before he made his own investigations, published in the *de gente pop. Rom.* he would have been likely to cite these predecessors and to have chosen the most probable of them for his statement in the *Annals*. Bocchus took the citations without naming Varro, and Solinus or his source treated Bocchus in like manner. The brevity and chronological character of all these works also tend to confirm the view that the shortest chronological work of Varro, i. e. the *Annals*, was the original source. It is besides certain that the name Siccius was changed to Sicinius in accordance with this source and this form of the name as we have seen must be traced to the *Annals*, for Varro corrected the mistake in his other works, the *Imagines* and the *res divinae*.

Even the short astrological computation from Tarruntius may have been taken by Bocchus-Solinus from the *Annals*, though

¹ We know from Cicero's *Academica* I, 3, 9 that Varro also had determined a date previous to 45 B. C., though the *de gente pop. Rom.* was not published till 43 B. C. Yet Cicero nowhere alludes to a difference between Atticus and Varro.

Varro must have given a fuller version of the same in the *de gente pop. Rom.* We thus see that everything points to the *Annals* of Varro as one of the principal sources of Bocchus-Solinus. Of the various reasons the appearance of the name Sicinius is certainly a strong one, the others are merely confirmatory in character.

On this basis we may consider the *Annals* as the indirect source not only of the passage of Solinus on the founding of Rome, for which Varro is cited, but also of the other passages which can be shown to be Varronian, except those derived through Pliny or taken from the *de litoralibus* (*de ora maritima*) which is cited. As possible fragments of the *Annals* we may enumerate:

Solinus 1, 13 (porta Pandana) cf. Varro l. l. 5, 42.

" 1, 14 (Pallatium and Reate) cf. Varro, r. r. 3, 1, 6; Pliny 3, 109.

" 1, 17 Varro cited.

" 1, 18 Tarruntius cited.

" 1, 19 (the Parilia) cf. Festus, p. 222 (M.)

" 1, 20 (spolia opima and king Acron) cf. my *Quellencontamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius*, p. 47.

Solinus 1, 21-23 (the residence, length of reign, date of death and place of burial of the kings). Note particularly the dates of death for Numa (ol. 27), Hostilius (ol. 35), Ancus Marcius (ol. 41). These three dates agree exactly with the Varronian date of the city (753), if we take the expression *olympiade septima et vicesima*, etc. to mean the first year of the olympiad, i. e. the summer when the games occurred. The usual interpretation would place the death any time during the four years of the olympiad. It is noticeable that the dates of the deaths of the other kings are not given in olympiads as they would not have coincided with Olympian festivals according to the Varronian system of dating. Varro may have noticed the coincidence in the case of the three kings and so dated their deaths '*incipiente olympiade*, etc', for Bocchus would have to omit the participle to keep the discrepancy with his system of chronology from being too apparent.

Solinus 1, 34 (the original 10 month year) cf. Censorinus 20.

" 2, 5 (Janiculum and Janus) cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 245.

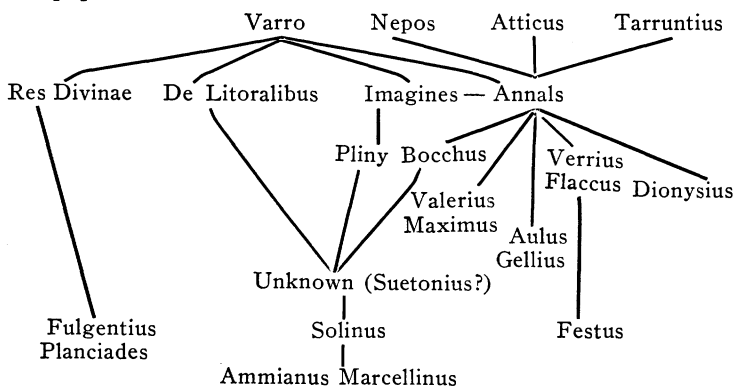
" " (Saturnia and Saturn) cf. Varro, l. l. 5, 42.

Also in Aulus Gellius there are other concealed fragments of the *Annals*, as the following:

17, 21, 13 (the death of the 300 Fabii dated the 4th year after Salamis).

17, 21, 16 (date of the beginning of 2nd Punic War).

17, 21, 40 (date of first Punic War). All these dates agree with the chronology of Varro rather than Nepos. The Annals may also have been used in other chapters of Gellius or Valerius Maximus but in all such passages we have not sufficient data to distinguish between the different works of Varro as sources. The following is the outline for the relation of sources shown in this paper.



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